

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 042000
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:RLBARRY
APPROVED BY IO:CWMAYNES
AF:RMOOSE
S/S-V:SVALERGA
ARA:POAKLEY (DRAFT)
L:SSCHWEBEL
EUR/SOV:MGARRISON
NEA:SPALMER(DRAFT
S/MS:MSHULMAN
AF/E:RPOSTEUR/SOV:MGARRISON
-----056841 170201Z /64

O 170049Z PEB 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANA IMMEDIATE
SECRET

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 042000

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, PORG, UNSC, ET, SO

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON THE HORN

REF: (A) LAGOS 1881; (B) CAIRO 4926; (C) MOGADISCIO 290
(D) USUN 511

1. WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN NEW YORK
FEBRUARY 11-12 AGREED TO ACT PROMPTLY TO HAVE HORN ISSUE
BROUGHT BEFORE SECURITY COUNCIL, THIS WEEK IF POSSIBLE.
THEY AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE FAR PREFERABLE IF AFRICANS,
IN PARTICULAR NIGERIA AND GABON, WOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN
CALLING FOR COUNCIL ACTION AND SUPPORTING A CONSTRUCTIVE
RESOLUTION DESIGNED TO PROMOTE THE OAU MEDIATION EFFORT.
WE HAVE SINCE CONSULTED WITH NIGERIA AND SOMALIA ON THE
PROSPECTS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION. WE ARE URGING
FRENCH TO PROCEED WITH AN APPROACH TO GABON IN LIBREVILLE.

2. NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GARBA HAS TOLD US THAT OAU
MEDIATION EFFORTS CURRENTLY ARE AT A CRITICAL STAGE.
ETHIOPIA WAS TO HAVE SENT A DELEGATION TO LAGOS TO DIS-
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CUSS POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOMALIA AND NIGERIANS
HOPED SOMALIA WOULD FOLLOW SUIT. WE WOULD NOT WANT TO
INTERFERE WITH THIS EFFORT SHOULD IT INDEED APPEAR TO BE
GETTING SOMEWHERE AT LAST. HOWEVER, THERE IS GOOD CHANCE
ETHIOPIA WILL NOT COME TO LAGOS MEETING AND THUS OAU
INITIATIVE WILL CONTINUE TO GET NOWHERE. WE CONTINUE
TO HOPE TO PERSUADE THE AFRICANS TO TAKE THE LEAD,
ALTHOUGH IN ANY EVENT WE WILL WANT TO PURSUE OUR
EFFORT TO HAVE THE COUNCIL SEIZED WITH THE HORN ISSUE.

3. WE BELIEVE TIME FOR SC TO ACT HAS COME BECAUSE:

-SOMALIS, BY AT LAST ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THEIR TROOPS
ARE IN THE OGADEN, HAVE OPENED THE WAY FOR A CALL TO THEM
TO LEAVE; AT SAME TIME, THE ETHIOPIANS SHOULD SEE SOME
INTEREST IN GETTING THE SOMALIS OUT DIPLOMATICALLY AS
OPPOSED TO DRIVING THEM OUT MILITARILY.

-THE SITUATION IN THE HORN--MARKED BY A MASSIVE SOVIET
AND CUBAN BUILD-UP IN ETHIOPIA, AND THE POTENTIAL PARTI-
CIPATION ON SOMALIA'S SIDE BY A NUMBER OF OTHER GOVERN-
MENTS--HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY DANGEROUS TO PEACE AND
SECURITY.

-PROBLEM HAS IMPLICATIONS GOING BEYOND THE REGION,
ALTHOUGH WE WOULD CONTINUE STRONGLY TO ENCOURAGE REGIONAL
ACTION TO DEAL WITH THE MATTER.

-THE SITUATION IN THE HORN IF CONTINUED COULD AFFECT THE POTENTIAL CLIMATE FOR OTHER INITIATIVES OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE, INCLUDING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, CONVENTIONAL ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS.

4. IN DECIDING TO PURSUE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION, WE SEEK DISCUSSION AND NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE
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TO POLITICAL SOLUTION. WE WILL WANT TO AVOID ASSIGNING BLAME TO ANY PARTY OR TO ANY OUTSIDE POWER, INCLUDING THE MAIN CONTESTANTS OR THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA. OUR PURPOSE IS A SETTLEMENT NOT A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE.

5. RESOLUTION WHICH WE COULD SUPPORT AND BELIEVE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO OAU INITIATIVE WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE APPLICABILITY OF GOVERNING PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER AND CONTAIN FOLLOWING ELEMENTS AS WELL:

BEGIN QUOTE: PREAMBULAR ELEMENTS:

1. CONCERN AT PRESENT CONFLICT IN OGADEN REGION.
2. REFERENCE TO PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER AND OBLIGATIONS OF STATES TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THOSE PRINCIPLES.
3. REFERENCE TO RESPONSIBILITY OF SECURITY COUNCIL FOR MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.
4. REFERENCE TO ARTICLE 33 OF UN CHARTER AND DESIRABILITY OF PURSUING EFFORTS THROUGH REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.
5. REFERENCE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MEDIATION COMMISSION BY THE OAU, AS RELEVANT REGIONAL ORGANIZATION.

OPERATIVE ELEMENTS:

1. RESOLUTION OF THE PRESENT DISPUTE BY PEACEFUL MEANS IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN CHARTER.
2. APPLICATION OF THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES IN BRINGING ABOUT SUCH A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION:
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(A) RESPECT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA;

(B) IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF ALL HOSTILITIES IN THE OGADEN

AND IMMEDIATE AND RAPID WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT;

(C) RESPECT FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE AREA, INCLUDING ASSURANCES AGAINST REPRISALS ARISING FROM THE CONFLICT;

(D) AVOIDANCE BY ALL STATES OF ANY ACT WHICH COULD LEAD TO CONTINUATION OF THE FIGHTING OR TO AN EXACERBATION OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY RIVALRIES IN THE AREA, OR WHICH MIGHT ENDANGER NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT;

(E) ENTRY BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA INTO IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OAU MEDIATION COMMISSION WITH A VIEW TO SEEKING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE.

3. REQUEST TO SECRETARY GENERAL TO APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO COOPERATE WITH THE OAU MEDIATION COMMITTEE IN ITS EFFORTS. IN THIS REGARD, SUGGEST POSSIBILITY OF MACHINERY (E.G. ESTABLISHMENT OF OBSERVATION TEAMS) TO MONITOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES FROM THE OGADEN AND TO REPORT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE REGION OF FIGHTING.

4. REQUEST TO SECRETARY GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL BY MARCH --, 1978, ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION AND IN FURTHER STEPS THAT COULD LEAD TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THIS DISPUTE. END QUOTE.
SECRET

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6. FOR USUN: YOU SHOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS WITH WESTERN FIVE TO PAVE THE WAY FOR INSCRIPTION OF THE HORN ISSUE AT THE BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK. DISCUSSIONS SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR BRINGING ISSUE BEFORE COUNCIL NEXT WEEK, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT IF AFRICANS CANNOT AGREE ON SUCH A MOVE THEMSELVES WESTERN MEMBERS WOULD CONTINUE THEIR EFFORT. IN SEEKING INSCRIPTION BY AFRICANS, YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE OUR DESIRE TO HAVE COUNCIL MEETINGS ACCOMPANIED BY INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE COUNCIL MEMBERS IN HOPES OF AGREEING ON OUTLINES OF A RESOLUTION. WHILE HEATED EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE PARTIES WOULD BE INEVITABLE, WE BELIEVE THAT CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS BEHIND THE SCENES ARE POSSIBLE. YOU SHOULD BRIEF EGYPTIAN PERMREP MEGUID ON OUR PLANS AND SEEK SUPPORT

OF OTHER COUNCIL MEMBERS SUCH AS INDIA, VENEZUELA, BOLIVIA AND KUWAIT FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION.

7. FOR CAIRO: DRAWING ON REFTELS A, C AND D WHICH ARE BEING PASSED TO YOU SEPARATELY AND ABOVE MATERIAL, YOU SHOULD BRIEF FOREIGN MINISTRY ON OUR PLANS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION. YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT OUR GOAL IS NOT A BLAME-FIXING EXERCISE BUT RATHER A CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT TO ARRIVE AT A CONSENSUS ON THE FRAMEWORK FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. YOU SHOULD ALSO STRESS IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO HAVING UNSC RESOLUTION SUPPORT OAU MEDIATION EFFORTS RATHER THAN DETRACT FROM THEM. THUS, WE DO NOT REPEAT NOT BELIEVE THAT EGYPT SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN CALLING FOR A MEETING, BUT WE WOULD APPRECIATE THEIR BEHIND-THE-SCENES SUPPORT WITH OTHER AFRICAN AND ARAB GOVERNMENTS. WE ARE
SECRET

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CONFIDENT EGYPT WILL RECOGNIZE NEED TO NOT LET SLIP ANY OPPORTUNITY AT NYGOTMATET RESOLUTIONTOTENTION IN THAT CONNECTION, YOU MIGHT DRAW SPECIAL ATTENTION TO OPERATIVE PARAS 2B AND C OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION AND ASK FOR EGYPT'S ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE IN PRESSING FOR THEM.

8. FOR LAGOS: YOU SHOULD INFORM GARBA THAT WE APPRECIATE HIS ADVICE ON THE TIMING OF THE COUNCIL MEETING AND DO NOT WISH TO INTERFERE WITH HIS EFFORTS TO BRING SOMALIS AND ETHIOPIANS TOGETHER IN LAGOS TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, HE SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE GRAVITY WITH WHICH WE MUST VIEW A CONFLICT SUCH AS THIS--ONE IN WHICH SOME NON-AFRICAN POWERS HAVE ALREADY INTERVENED MILITARILY AND OTHERS THREATEN TO JOIN THEM. WE NOTE THAT HE TOO BELIEVES THAT IF THIS EFFORT FAILS, OTHER PLANS SHOULD BE TRIED. IF GARBA CONFIRMS THA ETHIOPIA WILL NOT COME TO LAGOS, HE SHOULD BE ASKED TO RECONSIDER HIS POSITION ON TAKING THE ISSUE BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT HE AND HIS AFRICAN COLLEAGUES WILL TAKE THE LEAD IN THE COUNCIL AND DO SO PROMPTLY OR AT LEAST SUPPORT A WESTERN MOVE TO SEIZE THE COUNCIL OF THE MATTER. WE BELIEVE APPROPRIATELY DRAFTED UNSC RESOLUTION, PROPERLY HANDLED IN DEBATE, COULD BE NON-CONTENTIOUS IN NATURE AND WOULD HAVE MAIN EFFECT OF PUTTING WEIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BEHIND NIGERIA IN ITS EFFORTS TO GET SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. WE THEREFORE URGE GARBA'S SUPPORT FOR THIS EFFORT.

9. FOR LIBREVILLE: YOU SHOULD COMPARE NOTES WITH YOUR FRENCH COLLEAGUE WHO WE HOPE WILL BE RECEIVING INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS TO MAKE A DEMARCHE ALONG THE ABOVE LINES. YOU SHOULD OFFER TO SUPPORT ANY APPROACH HE MAKES ALONG THE LINES OF ABOVE PARAGRAPH.

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10. FOR CARACAS, LA PAZ, KUWAIT, NEW DELHI: YOU SHOULD BRIEF FOREIGN MINISTRY ALONG THE LINES OF THE ABOVE MATERIAL AND REFTELS, POINTING OUT THAT WE WILL BE IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THEIR MISSIONS IN NEW YORK. UNTIL CONSULTATIONS ARE COMPLETED WE ARE NOT REQUESTING THAT THEY INSTRUCT THEIR DELEGATIONS TO SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS. RATHER, WE WANT TO MAKE THEM AWARE OF OUR THINKING AND SOLICIT THEIR ADVICE SO THAT WE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO ACT COOPERATIVELY.

11. FOR MOGADISCIO AND DJIBOUTI: YOU SHOULD BRIEF HOST GOVERNMENTS AS APPROPRIATE ON ABOVE, PLACING SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE GOALS WE ARE PURSUING IN SEEKING A COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

12. FOR ADDIS: SPECIAL EMISSARY WILL BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS SC SCENARIO WITH EPMG.

13. FOR SANAA, KHARTOUM, JIDDA, TEHRAN: YOU SHOULD BRIEF HOST GOVERNMENT ALONG ABOVE LINES, STRESSING THAT WE BELIEVE SC ACTION AT THIS TIME PROVIDES BEST CHANCE OF STIMULATING NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH WOULD HELP TO DETER ETHIOPIAN OR SOVIET/CUBAN INCURSIONS INTO SOMALI TERRITORY. YOU SHOULD POINT IN PARTICULAR TO OPERATIVE PARAS 2B AND C OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION AND ASK FOR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE IN PURSUING THEM.

14. FOR ROME: YOU SHOULD BRIEF FULLY, SOLICITING ADVICE AND EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT ITALIAN DEL IN NEW YORK WILL LEND ITS INFLUENCE AND EXPERTISE TO THE INITIATIVE.

15. FOR BONN, PARIS, LONDON, AND OTTAWA: AS FOLLOW-UP
SECRET

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TO FOREIGN MINISTERS DECISION ON FEBRUARY 12 TO PURSUE SECURITY COUNCIL INITIATIVE, YOU SHOULD BRIEF FOREIGN OFFICES AT SENIOR LEVEL ON HOW WE ARE PROCEEDING, AND ADD THAT WE ARE CONTINUING TO WORK WITH THEIR MISSIONS IN NEW YORK. WITHOUT MENTIONING TENDENCY ON THE PART OF SOME UN DELEGATIONS OF THE FIVE TO WALK THE MINISTERIAL DECISION BACK IN ANTICIPATION OF AFRICAN UNHAPPINESS (USUN 511), YOU SHOULD EXPRESS IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO PURSUING THE POLICY TAKEN BY THE MINISTERS TO THE PROVISION ON WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY ORCES FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE CONFLICT.

VANCE

SECRET

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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /016 R

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DRAFTED BY:IO/UNP:STESCUDERO

APPROVED BY: IO:TBROWN

S/S:JETOBIN

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O 230235Z FEB 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE 0000

S E C R E T STATE 042000

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 042000 ACTION MONROVIA DATED FEB 18:

QTE: S E C R E T STATE 042000

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 042000 ACTION ADDIS ABABA, BONN,
CAIRO, CARACAS, DJIBOUTI, JIDDA, KHARTOUM, KUWAIT, LAGOS,
LA PAZ, LONDON, LIBREVILLE, MOGADISCIO, NEW DELHI, OTTAWA,
PARIS, ROME, TEHRAN, USUN NEW YORK, SANA, MOSCOW, NAIROBI,
PORT LOUIS, PRAGUE, GENEVA AND TRIPOLI FEB 17.

QUOTE: S E C R E T STATE 042000

EXDIS - FOR MEZVINSKY

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

SECRET

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TAGS: PDEV, PORG, UNSC, ET, SO

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2. NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GARBA HAS TOLD US THAT OAU MEDIATION EFFORTS CURRENTLY ARE AT A CRITICAL STAGE. ETHIOPIA WAS TO HAVE SENT A DELEGATION TO LAGOS TO DISCUSS POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOMALIA AND NIGERIANS HOPED SOMALIA WOULD FOLLOW SUIT. WE WOULD NOT WANT TO INTERFERE WITH THIS EFFORT SHOULD IT INDEED APPEAR TO BE GETTING SOMEWHERE AT LAST. HOWEVER, THERE IS GOOD CHANCE ETHIOPIA WILL NOT COME TO LAGOS MEETING AND THUS OAU INITIATIVE WILL CONTINUE TO GET NOWHERE. WE CONTINUE TO HOPE TO PERSUADE THE AFRICANS TO TAKE THE LEAD, ALTHOUGH IN ANY EVENT WE WILL WANT TO PURSUE OUR EFFORT TO HAVE THE COUNCIL SEIZED WITH THE HORN ISSUE.

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-THE SITUATION IN THE HORN--MARKED BY A MASSIVE SOVIET AND CUBAN BUILD-UP IN ETHIOPIA, AND THE POTENTIAL PARTICIPATION ON SOMALIA'S SIDE BY A NUMBER OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS--HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY DANGEROUS TO PEACE AND SECURITY.

-PROBLEM HAS IMPLICATIONS GOING BEYOND THE REGION, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD CONTINUE STRONGLY TO ENCOURAGE REGIONAL ACTION TO DEAL WITH THE MATTER.

-THE SITUATION IN THE HORN IF CONTINUED COULD AFFECT THE POTENTIAL CLIMATE FOR OTHER INITIATIVES OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE, INCLUDING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, CONVENTIONAL ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS.

4. IN DECIDING TO PURSUE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION, WE SEEK DISCUSSION AND NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO POLITICAL SOLUTION. WE WILL WANT TO AVOID ASSIGNING BLAME TO ANY PARTY OR TO ANY OUTSIDE POWER, INCLUDING THE MAIN CONTESTANTS OR THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA. OUR PURPOSE IS A SETTLEMENT NOT A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE.

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COULD CONTRIBUTE TO OAU INITIATIVE WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE
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OPERATIVE ELEMENTS:

1. RESOLUTION OF THE PRESENT DISPUTE BY PEACEFUL MEANS
IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN CHARTER.
2. APPLICATION OF THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES IN BRINGING
ABOUT SUCH A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION:

(A) RESPECT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL STATES
IN THE AREA;

(B) IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF ALL HOSTILITIES IN THE OGADEN
AND IMMEDIATE AND RAPID WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY
FORCES FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT;

(C) RESPECT FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE
AREA, INCLUDING ASSURANCES AGAINST REPRISALS ARISING FROM
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(D) AVOIDANCE BY ALL STATES OF ANY ACT WHICH COULD LEAD
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OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY RIVALRIES IN THE AREA, OR WHICH
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3. REQUEST TO SECRETARY GENERAL TO APPOINT A SPECIAL
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EMPHASIS ON THE GOALS WE ARE PURSUING IN SEEKING A COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

12. FOR ADDIS: SPECIAL EMISSARY WILL BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS SC SCENARIO WITH EPMG.

13. FOR SANAA, KHARTOUM, JIDDA, TEHRAN: YOU SHOULD BRIEF HOST GOVERNMENT ALONG ABOVE LINES, STRESSING THAT WE BELIEVE SC ACTION AT THIS TIME PROVIDES BEST CHANCE OF STIMULATING NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH WOULD HELP TO DETER ETHIOPIAN OR SOVIET/CUBAN INCURSIONS INTO SOMALI TERRITORY. YOU SHOULD POINT IN PARTICULAR TO OPERATIVE PARAS 2B AND C OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION AND ASK FOR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE IN PURSUING THEM.

14. FOR ROME: YOU SHOULD BRIEF FULLY, SOLICITING ADVICE AND EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT ITALIAN DEL IN NEW YORK WILL LEND ITS INFLUENCE AND EXPERTISE TO THE INITIATIVE.

15. FOR BONN, PARIS, LONDON, AND OTTAWA: AS FOLLOW-UP TO FOREIGN MINISTERS DECISION ON FEBRUARY 12 TO PURSUE SECURITY COUNCIL INITIATIVE, YOU SHOULD BRIEF FOREIGN OFFICES AT SENIOR LEVEL ON HOW WE ARE PROCEEDING, AND ADD THAT WE ARE CONTINUING TO WORK WITH THEIR MISSIONS IN NEW YORK. WITHOUT MENTIONING TENDENCY ON THE PART OF SOME UN DELEGATIONS OF THE FIVE TO WALK THE MINISTERIAL DECISION BACK IN ANTICIPATION OF AFRICAN UNHAPPINESS (USUN 511), YOU SHOULD EXPRESS IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO PURSUING THE POLICY TAKEN BY THE MINISTERS TO THE PROVISION ON WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY ORCES FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE CONFLICT. VANCE UNQUOTE VANCE
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S E C R E T STATE 042000

EXDIS - FOR MEZVINSKY

FOL STATE 042000 SENT ACTION BANJUL MONROVIA FEB 17, 1978
REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 042000

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 042000 ACTION ADDIS ABABA BONN CAIRO
CARACAS DJIBOUTI JIDDA KHARTOUM KUWAIT LAGOS LA PAZ LONDON
LIBREVILLE MOGADISCIO NEW DELHI OTTAWA PARIS ROME TEHRAN
USUN NEW YORK SANA INFO MOSCOW NAIROBI PORT LOUIS PRAGUE
TRIPOLI FEB 17.

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 042000

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, PORG, UNSC, ET, SO
SECRET

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SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON THE HORN

REF: (A) LAGOS 1881; (B) CAIRO 4926; (C) MOGADISCIO 290
(D) USUN 511

1. WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN NEW YORK
FEBRUARY 11-12 AGREED TO ACT PROMPTLY TO HAVE HORN ISSUE
BROUGHT BEFORE SECURITY COUNCIL, THIS WEEK IF POSSIBLE.
THEY AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE FAR PREFERABLE IF AFRICANS,
IN PARTICULAR NIGERIA AND GABON, WOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN
CALLING FOR COUNCIL ACTION AND SUPPORTING A CONSTRUCTIVE
RESOLUTION DESIGNED TO PROMOTE THE OAU MEDIATION EFFORT.
WE HAVE SINCE CONSULTED WITH NIGERIA AND SOMALIA ON THE
PROSPECTS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION. WE ARE URGING
FRENCH TO PROCEED WITH AN APPROACH TO GABON IN LIBREVILLE.

2. NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GARBA HAS TOLD US THAT OAU
MEDIATION EFFORTS CURRENTLY ARE AT A CRITICAL STAGE.
ETHIOPIA WAS TO HAVE SENT A DELEGATION TO LAGOS TO DIS-
CUSS POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOMALIA AND NIGERIANS
HOPED SOMALIA WOULD FOLLOW SUIT. WE WOULD NOT WANT TO
INTERFERE WITH THIS EFFORT SHOULD IT INDEED APPEAR TO BE
GETTING SOMEWHERE AT LAST. HOWEVER, THERE IS GOOD CHANCE
ETHIOPIA WILL NOT COME TO LAGOS MEETING AND THUS OAU
INITIATIVE WILL CONTINUE TO GET NOWHERE. WE CONTINUE

TO HOPE TO PERSUADE THE AFRICANS TO TAKE THE LEAD,
ALTHOUGH IN ANY EVENT WE WILL WANT TO PURSUE OUR
EFFORT TO HAVE THE COUNCIL SEIZED WITH THE HORN ISSUE.

3. WE BELIEVE TIME FOR SC TO ACT HAS COME BECAUSE:

-SOMALIS, BY AT LAST ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THEIR TROOPS
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ARE IN THE OGADEN, HAVE OPENED THE WAY FOR A CALL TO THEM
TO LEAVE; AT SAME TIME, THE ETHIOPIANS SHOULD SEE SOME
INTEREST IN GETTING THE SOMALIS OUT DIPLOMATICALLY AS
OPPOSED TO DRIVING THEM OUT MILITARILY.

-THE SITUATION IN THE HORN--MARKED BY A MASSIVE SOVIET
AND CUBAN BUILD-UP IN ETHIOPIA, AND THE POTENTIAL PARTI-
CIPATION ON SOMALIA'S SIDE BY A NUMBER OF OTHER GOVERN-
MENTS--HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY DANGEROUS TO PEACE AND
SECURITY.

-PROBLEM HAS IMPLICATIONS GOING BEYOND THE REGION,
ALTHOUGH WE WOULD CONTINUE STRONGLY TO ENCOURAGE REGIONAL
ACTION TO DEAL WITH THE MATTER.

-THE SITUATION IN THE HORN IF CONTINUED COULD AFFECT
THE POTENTIAL CLIMATE FOR OTHER INITIATIVES OF MAJOR
IMPORTANCE, INCLUDING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN,
CONVENTIONAL ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, MIDDLE EAST
PEACE TALKS.

4. IN DECIDING TO PURSUE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION, WE
SEEK DISCUSSION AND NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE
TO POLITICAL SOLUTION. WE WILL WANT TO AVOID ASSIGNING
BLAME TO ANY PARTY OR TO ANY OUTSIDE POWER, INCLUDING
THE MAIN CONTESTANTS OR THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA.
OUR PURPOSE IS A SETTLEMENT NOT A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE.

5. RESOLUTION WHICH WE COULD SUPPORT AND BELIEVE
COULD CONTRIBUTE TO OAU INITIATIVE WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE
APPLICABILITY OF GOVERNING PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER
AND CONTAIN FOLLOWING ELEMENTS AS WELL:

BEGIN QUOTE: PREAMBULAR ELEMENTS:

1. CONCERN AT PRESENT CONFLICT IN OGADEN REGION.
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2. REFERENCE TO PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER AND OBLIGATIONS
OF STATES TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THOSE PRINCIPLES.

3. REFERENCE TO RESPONSIBILITY OF SECURITY COUNCIL FOR MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

4. REFERENCE TO ARTICLE 33 OF UN CHARTER AND DESIRABILITY OF PURSUING EFFORTS THROUGH REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

5. REFERENCE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MEDIATION COMMISSION BY THE OAU, AS RELEVANT REGIONAL ORGANIZATION.

OPERATIVE ELEMENTS:

1. RESOLUTION OF THE PRESENT DISPUTE BY PEACEFUL MEANS IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN CHARTER.

2. APPLICATION OF THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES IN BRINGING ABOUT SUCH A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION:

(A) RESPECT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA;

(B) IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF ALL HOSTILITIES IN THE OGADEN AND IMMEDIATE AND RAPID WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT;

(C) RESPECT FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE AREA, INCLUDING ASSURANCES AGAINST REPRISALS ARISING FROM THE CONFLICT;

(D) AVOIDANCE BY ALL STATES OF ANY ACT WHICH COULD LEAD
SECRET

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TO CONTINUATION OF THE FIGHTING OR TO AN EXACERBATION OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY RIVALRIES IN THE AREA, OR WHICH MIGHT ENDANGER NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT;

(E) ENTRY BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA INTO IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OAU MEDIATION COMMISSION WITH A VIEW TO SEEKING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE.

3. REQUEST TO SECRETARY GENERAL TO APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO COOPERATE WITH THE OAU MEDIATION COMMITTEE IN ITS EFFORTS. IN THIS REGARD, SUGGEST POSSIBILITY OF MACHINERY (E.G. ESTABLISHMENT OF OBSERVATION TEAMS) TO MONITOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES FROM THE OGADEN AND TO REPORT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
REGION OF FIGHTING.

4. REQUEST TO SECRETARY GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL BY MARCH --, 1978, ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF

THIS RESOLUTION AND IN FURTHER STEPS THAT COULD LEAD
TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THIS DISPUTE. END QUOTE.

6. FOR USUN: YOU SHOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS WITH WESTERN
FIVE TO PAVE THE WAY FOR INSCRIPTION OF THE HORN
ISSUE AT THE BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK.
DISCUSSIONS SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR
BRINGING ISSUE BEFORE COUNCIL NEXT WEEK, MAKING IT
CLEAR THAT IF AFRICANS CANNOT AGREE ON SUCH A MOVE
THEMSELVES WESTERN MEMBERS WOULD CONTINUE THEIR EFFORT. IN
SEEKING INSCRIPTION BY AFRICANS, YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE
OUR DESIRE TO HAVE COUNCIL MEETINGS ACCOMPANIED BY
INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE COUNCIL MEMBERS IN
HOPES OF AGREEING ON OUTLINES OF A RESOLUTION. WHILE
HEATED EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE PARTIES WOULD BE
SECRET

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INEVITABLE, WE BELIEVE THAT CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS
BEHIND THE SCENES ARE POSSIBLE. YOU SHOULD BRIEF
EGYPTIAN PERMREP MEGUID ON OUR PLANS AND SEEK SUPPORT
OF OTHER COUNCIL MEMBERS SUCH AS INDIA, VENEZUELA,
BOLIVIA AND KUWAIT FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION.

7. FOR CAIRO: DRAWING ON REFTELS A, C AND D WHICH
ARE BEING PASSED TO YOU SEPARATELY AND ABOVE MATERIAL,
YOU SHOULD BRIEF FOREIGN MINISTRY ON OUR PLANS FOR
SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION. YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT OUR
GOAL IS NOT A BLAME-FIXING EXERCISE BUT RATHER A
CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT TO ARRIVE AT A CONSENSUS ON THE
FRAMEWORK FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. YOU SHOULD ALSO
STRESS IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO HAVING UNSC RESOLUTION
SUPPORT OAU MEDIATION EFFORTS RATHER THAN DETRACT
FROM THEM. THUS, WE DO NOT REPEAT NOT BELIEVE THAT
EGYPT SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN CALLING FOR A MEETING,
BUT WE WOULD APPRECIATE THEIR BEHIND-THE-SCENES SUPPORT
WITH OTHER AFRICAN AND ARAB GOVERNMENTS. WE ARE
CONFIDENT EGYPT WILL RECOGNIZE NEED TO NOT LET SLIP
ANY OPPORTUNITY AT NYGOTMATET RESOLUTIONTOTENTION
IN THAT CONNECTION, YOU MIGHT DRAW SPECIAL ATTENTION
TO OPERATIVE PARAS 2B AND C OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION
AND ASK FOR EGYPT'S ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE IN PRESSING
FOR THEM.

8. FOR LAGOS: YOU SHOULD INFORM GARBA THAT WE
APPRECIATE HIS ADVICE ON THE TIMING OF THE COUNCIL MEETING
AND DO NOT WISH TO INTERFERE WITH HIS EFFORTS TO BRING
SOMALIS AND ETHIOPIANS TOGETHER IN LAGOS TO DISCUSS THE
POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, HE SHOULD
UNDERSTAND THE GRAVITY WITH WHICH WE MUST VIEW A CONFLICT
SUCH AS THIS--ONE IN WHICH SOME NON-AFRICAN POWERS HAVE
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ALREADY INTERVENED MILITARILY AND OTHERS THREATEN TO JOIN THEM. WE NOTE THAT HE TOO BELIEVES THAT IF THIS EFFORT FAILS, OTHER PLANS SHOULD BE TRIED. IF GARBA CONFIRMS THAT ETHIOPIA WILL NOT COME TO LAGOS, HE SHOULD BE ASKED TO RECONSIDER HIS POSITION ON TAKING THE ISSUE BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT HE AND HIS AFRICAN COLLEAGUES WILL TAKE THE LEAD IN THE COUNCIL AND DO SO PROMPTLY OR AT LEAST SUPPORT A WESTERN MOVE TO SEIZE THE COUNCIL OF THE MATTER. WE BELIEVE APPROPRIATELY DRAFTED UNSC RESOLUTION, PROPERLY HANDLED IN DEBATE, COULD BE NON-CONTENTIOUS IN NATURE AND WOULD HAVE MAIN EFFECT OF PUTTING WEIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BEHIND NIGERIA IN ITS EFFORTS TO GET SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. WE THEREFORE URGE GARBA'S SUPPORT FOR THIS EFFORT.

9. FOR LIBREVILLE: YOU SHOULD COMPARE NOTES WITH YOUR FRENCH COLLEAGUE WHO WE HOPE WILL BE RECEIVING INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS TO MAKE A DEMARCHE ALONG THE ABOVE LINES. YOU SHOULD OFFER TO SUPPORT ANY APPROACH HE MAKES ALONG THE LINES OF ABOVE PARAGRAPH.

10. FOR CARACAS, LA PAZ, KUWAIT, NEW DELHI: YOU SHOULD BRIEF FOREIGN MINISTRY ALONG THE LINES OF THE ABOVE MATERIAL AND REFTELS, POINTING OUT THAT WE WILL BE IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THEIR MISSIONS IN NEW YORK. UNTIL CONSULTATIONS ARE COMPLETED WE ARE NOT REQUESTING THAT THEY INSTRUCT THEIR DELEGATIONS TO SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS. RATHER, WE WANT TO MAKE THEM AWARE OF OUR THINKING AND SOLICIT THEIR ADVICE SO THAT WE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO ACT COOPERATIVELY.

11. FOR MOGADISCIO AND DJIBOUTI: YOU SHOULD BRIEF HOST GOVERNMENTS AS APPROPRIATE ON ABOVE, PLACING SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE GOALS WE ARE PURSUING IN SEEKING A COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

SECRET

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12. FOR ADDIS: SPECIAL EMISSARY WILL BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS SC SCENARIO WITH EPMG.

13. FOR SANAA, KHARTOUM, JIDDA, TEHRAN: YOU SHOULD BRIEF HOST GOVERNMENT ALONG ABOVE LINES, STRESSING THAT WE BELIEVE SC ACTION AT THIS TIME PROVIDES BEST CHANCE OF STIMULATING NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH WOULD HELP TO DETER ETHIOPIAN OR SOVIET/CUBAN INCURSIONS INTO SOMALI TERRITORY. YOU SHOULD POINT IN PARTICULAR TO OPERATIVE PARAS 2B AND C OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION AND ASK FOR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE IN PURSUING THEM.

14. FOR ROME: YOU SHOULD BRIEF FULLY, SOLICITING
ADVICE AND EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT ITALIAN DEL IN
NEW YORK WILL LEND ITS INFLUENCE AND EXPERTISE TO THE
INITIATIVE.

15. FOR BONN, PARIS, LONDON, AND OTTAWA: AS FOLLOW-UP
TO FOREIGN MINISTERS DECISION ON FEBRUARY 12 TO PURSUE
SECURITY COUNCIL INITIATIVE, YOU SHOULD BRIEF FOREIGN
OFFICES AT SENIOR LEVEL ON HOW WE ARE PROCEEDING, AND
ADD THAT WE ARE CONTINUING TO WORK WITH THEIR MISSIONS
IN NEW YORK. WITHOUT MENTIONING TENDENCY ON THE PART
OF SOME UN DELEGATIONS OF THE FIVE TO WALK THE
MINISTERIAL DECISION BACK IN ANTICIPATION OF AFRICAN
UNHAPPINESS (USUN 511), YOU SHOULD EXPRESS IMPORTANCE
WE ATTACH TO PURSUING THE POLICY TAKEN BY THE MINISTERS
TO THE PROVISION ON WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY
ORCES FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE CONFLICT. VANCE
UNQUOTE VANCE

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TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 042000

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 042000 ACTION ADDIS ABABA, BONN,
CAIRO, CARACAS, DJIBOUTI, JIDDA, KHARTOUM, KUWAIT, LAGOS,
LA PAZ, LONDON, LIBREVILLE, MOGADISCIO, NEW DELHI, OTTAWA,
PARIS, ROME, TEHRAN, USUN NEW YORK, SANA, MOSCOW, NAIROBI,
PORT LOUIS, PRAGUE, GENEVA AND TRIPOLI FEB 17.

QUOTE: S E C R E T STATE 042000

EXDIS - FOR MEZVINSKY

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, PORG, UNSC, ET, SO

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON THE HORN

REF: (A) LAGOS 1881; (B) CAIRO 4926; (C) MOGADISCIO 290
(D) USUN 511

SECRET

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1. WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN NEW YORK FEBRUARY 11-12 AGREED TO ACT PROMPTLY TO HAVE HORN ISSUE BROUGHT BEFORE SECURITY COUNCIL, THIS WEEK IF POSSIBLE. THEY AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE FAR PREFERABLE IF AFRICANS, IN PARTICULAR NIGERIA AND GABON, WOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN CALLING FOR COUNCIL ACTION AND SUPPORTING A CONSTRUCTIVZ RESOLUTION DESIGNED TO PROMOTE THE OAU MEDIATION EFFORT. WE HAVE SINCE CONSULTED WITH NIGERIA AND SOMALIA ON THE PROSPECTS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION. WE ARE URGING FRENCH TO PROCEED WITH AN APPROACH TO GABON IN LIBREVILLE.

2. NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GARBA HAS TOLD US THAT OAU MEDIATION EFFORTS CURRENTLY ARE AT A CRITICAL STAGE. ETHIOPIA WAS TO HAVE SENT A DELEGATION TO LAGOS TO DISCUSS POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOMALIA AND NIGERIANS HOPED SOMALIA WOULD FOLLOW SUIT. WE WOULD NOT WANT TO INTERFERE WITH THIS EFFORT SHOULD IT INDEED APPEAR TO BE GETTING SOMEWHERE AT LAST. HOWEVER, THERE IS GOOD CHANCE ETHIOPIA WILL NOT COME TO LAGOS MEETING AND THUS OAU INITIATIVE WILL CONTINUE TO GET NOWHERE. WE CONTINUE TO HOPE TO PERSUADE THE AFRICANS TO TAKE THE LEAD, ALTHOUGH IN ANY EVENT WE WILL WANT TO PURSUE OUR EFFORT TO HAVE THE COUNCIL SEIZED WITH THE HORN ISSUE.

3. WE BELIEVE TIME FOR SC TO ACT HAS COME BECAUSE:

-SOMALIS, BY AT LAST ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THEIR TROOPS ARE IN THE OGADEN, HAVE OPENED THE WAY FOR A CALL TO THEM TO LEAVE; AT SAME TIME, THE ETHIOPIANS SHOULD SEE SOME INTEREST IN GETTING THE SOMALIS OUT DIPLOMATICALLY AS OPPOSED TO DRIVING THEM OUT MILITARILY.

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-THE SITUATION IN THE HORN--MARKED BY A MASSIVE SOVIET AND CUBAN BUILD-UP IN ETHIOPIA, AND THE POTENTIAL PARTICIPATION ON SOMALIA'S SIDE BY A NUMBER OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS--HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY DANGEROUS TO PEACE AND SECURITY.

-PROBLEM HAS IMPLICATIONS GOING BEYOND THE REGION, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD CONTINUE STRONGLY TO ENCOURAGE REGIONAL

ACTION TO DEAL WITH THE MATTER.

-THE SITUATION IN THE HORN IF CONTINUED COULD AFFECT THE POTENTIAL CLIMATE FOR OTHER INITIATIVES OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE, INCLUDING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, CONVENTIONAL ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS.

4. IN DECIDING TO PURSUE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION, WE SEEK DISCUSSION AND NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO POLITICAL SOLUTION. WE WILL WANT TO AVOID ASSIGNING BLAME TO ANY PARTY OR TO ANY OUTSIDE POWER, INCLUDING THE MAIN CONTESTANTS OR THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA. OUR PURPOSE IS A SETTLEMENT NOT A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE.

5. RESOLUTION WHICH WE COULD SUPPORT AND BELIEVE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO OAU INITIATIVE WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE APPLICABILITY OF GOVERNING PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER AND CONTAIN FOLLOWING ELEMENTS AS WELL:

BEGIN QUOTE: PREAMBULAR ELEMENTS:

1. CONCERN AT PRESENT CONFLICT IN OGADEN REGION.
2. REFERENCE TO PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER AND OBLIGATIONS OF STATES TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THOSE PRINCIPLES.
3. REFERENCE TO RESPONSIBILITY OF SECURITY COUNCIL FOR
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MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

4. REFERENCE TO ARTICLE 33 OF UN CHARTER AND DESIRABILITY OF PURSUING EFFORTS THROUGH REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.
5. REFERENCE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MEDIATION COMMISSION BY THE OAU, AS RELEVANT REGIONAL ORGANIZATION.

OPERATIVE ELEMENTS:

1. RESOLUTION OF THE PRESENT DISPUTE BY PEACEFUL MEANS IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN CHARTER.
2. APPLICATION OF THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES IN BRINGING ABOUT SUCH A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION:

(A) RESPECT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA;

(B) IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF ALL HOSTILITIES IN THE OGADEN AND IMMEDIATE AND RAPID WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT;

(C) RESPECT FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE AREA, INCLUDING ASSURANCES AGAINST REPRISALS ARISING FROM THE CONFLICT;

(D) AVOIDANCE BY ALL STATES OF ANY ACT WHICH COULD LEAD TO CONTINUATION OF THE FIGHTING OR TO AN EXACERBATION OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY RIVALRIES IN THE AREA, OR WHICH MIGHT ENDANGER NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT;

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(E) ENTRY BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA INTO IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OAU MEDIATION COMMISSION WITH A VIEW TO SEEKING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE.

3. REQUEST TO SECRETARY GENERAL TO APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO COOPERATE WITH THE OAU MEDIATION COMMITTEE IN ITS EFFORTS. IN THIS REGARD, SUGGEST POSSIBILITY OF MACHINERY (E.G. ESTABLISHMENT OF OBSERVATION TEAMS) TO MONITOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES FROM THE OGADEN AND TO REPORT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE

REGION OF FIGHTING.

4. REQUEST TO SECRETARY GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL BY MARCH --, 1978, ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION AND IN FURTHER STEPS THAT COULD LEAD TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THIS DISPUTE. END QUOTE.

6. FOR USUN: YOU SHOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS WITH WESTERN FIVE TO PAVE THE WAY FOR INSCRIPTION OF THE HORN ISSUE AT THE BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK. DISCUSSIONS SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR BRINGING ISSUE BEFORE COUNCIL NEXT WEEK, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT IF AFRICANS CANNOT AGREE ON SUCH A MOVE THEMSELVES WESTERN MEMBERS WOULD CONTINUE THEIR EFFORT. IN SEEKING INSCRIPTION BY AFRICANS, YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE OUR DESIRE TO HAVE COUNCIL MEETINGS ACCOMPANIED BY INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE COUNCIL MEMBERS IN HOPES OF AGREEING ON OUTLINES OF A RESOLUTION. WHILE HEATED EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE PARTIES WOULD BE INEVITABLE, WE BELIEVE THAT CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS BEHIND THE SCENES ARE POSSIBLE. YOU SHOULD BRIEF EGYPTIAN PERMREP MEGUID ON OUR PLANS AND SEEK SUPPORT OF OTHER COUNCIL MEMBERS SUCH AS INDIA, VENEZUELA, BOLIVIA AND KUWAIT FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION.

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7. FOR CAIRO: DRAWING ON REFTELS A, C AND D WHICH ARE BEING PASSED TO YOU SEPARATELY AND ABOVE MATERIAL, YOU SHOULD BRIEF FOREIGN MINISTRY ON OUR PLANS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION. YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT OUR GOAL IS NOT A BLAME-FIXING EXERCISE BUT RATHER A CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT TO ARRIVE AT A CONSENSUS ON THE FRAMEWORK FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. YOU SHOULD ALSO STRESS IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO HAVING UNSC RESOLUTION SUPPORT OAU MEDIATION EFFORTS RATHER THAN DETRACT FROM THEM. THUS, WE DO NOT REPEAT NOT BELIEVE THAT EGYPT SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN CALLING FOR A MEETING, BUT WE WOULD APPRECIATE THEIR BEHIND-THE-SCENES SUPPORT WITH OTHER AFRICAN AND ARAB GOVERNMENTS. WE ARE CONFIDENT EGYPT WILL RECOGNIZE NEED TO NOT LET SLIP ANY OPPORTUNITY AT NYGOTMATET RESOLUTIONTOTENTION IN THAT CONNECTION, YOU MIGHT DRAW SPECIAL ATTENTION TO OPERATIVE PARAS 2B AND C OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION AND ASK FOR EGYPT'S ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE IN PRESSING FOR THEM.

8. FOR LAGOS: YOU SHOULD INFORM GARBA THAT WE APPRECIATE HIS ADVICE ON THE TIMING OF THE COUNCIL MEETING AND DO NOT WISH TO INTERFERE WITH HIS EFFORTS TO BRING SOMALIS AND ETHIOPIANS TOGETHER IN LAGOS TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, HE SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE GRAVITY WITH WHICH WE MUST VIEW A CONFLICT SUCH AS THIS--ONE IN WHICH SOME NON-AFRICAN POWERS HAVE ALREADY INTERVENED MILITARILY AND OTHERS THREATEN TO JOIN THEM. WE NOTE THAT HE TOO BELIEVES THAT IF THIS EFFORT FAILS, OTHER PLANS SHOULD BE TRIED. IF GARBA CONFIRMS THAT ETHIOPIA WILL NOT COME TO LAGOS, HE SHOULD BE ASKED TO RECONSIDER HIS POSITION ON TAKING THE ISSUE BEFORE THE
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SECURITY COUNCIL. WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT HE AND HIS AFRICAN COLLEAGUES WILL TAKE THE LEAD IN THE COUNCIL AND DO SO PROMPTLY OR AT LEAST SUPPORT A WESTERN MOVE TO SEIZE THE COUNCIL OF THE MATTER. WE BELIEVE APPROPRIATELY DRAFTED UNSC RESOLUTION, PROPERLY HANDLED IN DEBATE, COULD BE NON-CONTENTIOUS IN NATURE AND WOULD HAVE MAIN EFFECT OF PUTTING WEIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BEHIND NIGERIA IN ITS EFFORTS TO GET SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. WE THEREFORE URGE GARBA'S SUPPORT FOR THIS EFFORT.

9. FOR LIBREVILLE: YOU SHOULD COMPARE NOTES WITH YOUR FRENCH COLLEAGUE WHO WE HOPE WILL BE RECEIVING INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS TO MAKE A DEMARCHE ALONG THE ABOVE LINES. YOU SHOULD OFFER TO SUPPORT ANY APPROACH HE MAKES ALONG THE LINES OF ABOVE PARAGRAPH.

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11. FOR MOGADISCIO AND DJIBOUTI: YOU SHOULD BRIEF HOST GOVERNMENTS AS APPROPRIATE ON ABOVE, PLACING SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE GOALS WE ARE PURSUING IN SEEKING A COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

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13. FOR SANAA, KHARTOUM, JIDDA, TEHRAN: YOU SHOULD BRIEF
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HOST GOVERNMENT ALONG ABOVE LINES, STRESSING THAT WE BELIEVE SC ACTION AT THIS TIME PROVIDES BEST CHANCE OF STIMULATING NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH WOULD HELP TO DETER ETHIOPIAN OR SOVIET/CUBAN INCURSIONS INTO SOMALI TERRITORY. YOU SHOULD POINT IN PARTICULAR TO OPERATIVE PARAS 2B AND C OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION AND ASK FOR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE IN PURSUING THEM.

14. FOR ROME: YOU SHOULD BRIEF FULLY, SOLICITING ADVICE AND EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT ITALIAN DEL IN NEW YORK WILL LEND ITS INFLUENCE AND EXPERTISE TO THE INITIATIVE.

15. FOR BONN, PARIS, LONDON, AND OTTAWA: AS FOLLOW-UP TO FOREIGN MINISTERS DECISION ON FEBRUARY 12 TO PURSUE SECURITY COUNCIL INITIATIVE, YOU SHOULD BRIEF FOREIGN OFFICES AT SENIOR LEVEL ON HOW WE ARE PROCEEDING, AND ADD THAT WE ARE CONTINUING TO WORK WITH THEIR MISSIONS IN NEW YORK. WITHOUT MENTIONING TENDENCY ON THE PART OF SOME UN DELEGATIONS OF THE FIVE TO WALK THE MINISTERIAL DECISION BACK IN ANTICIPATION OF AFRICAN UNHAPPINESS (USUN 511), YOU SHOULD EXPRESS IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO PURSUING THE POLICY TAKEN BY THE MINISTERS TO THE PROVISION ON WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY ORCES FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE CONFLICT. VANCE
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S E C R E T STATE 042000

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 042000 ACTION ADDIS ABABA BONN CAIRO
CARACAS DJIBOUTI JIDDA KHARTOUM KUWAIT LAGOS LA PAZ LONDON
LIBREVILLE MOGADISCIO NEW DELHI OTTAWA PARIS ROME TEHRAN
USUN NEW YORK SANA INFO MOSCOW NAIROBI PORT LOUIS PRAGUE
TRIPOLI FEB 17.

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 042000

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, PORG, UNSC, ET, SO

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON THE HORN

REF: (A) LAGOS 1881; (B) CAIRO 4926; (C) MOGADISCIO 290
(D) USUN 511

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1. WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN NEW YORK
FEBRUARY 11-12 AGREED TO ACT PROMPTLY TO HAVE HORN ISSUE
BROUGHT BEFORE SECURITY COUNCIL, THIS WEEK IF POSSIBLE.
THEY AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE FAR PREFERABLE IF AFRICANS,
IN PARTICULAR NIGERIA AND GABON, WOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN
CALLING FOR COUNCIL ACTION AND SUPPORTING A CONSTRUCTIVE
RESOLUTION DESIGNED TO PROMOTE THE OAU MEDIATION EFFORT.
WE HAVE SINCE CONSULTED WITH NIGERIA AND SOMALIA ON THE
PROSPECTS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION. WE ARE URGING
FRENCH TO PROCEED WITH AN APPROACH TO GABON IN LIBREVILLE.

2. NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GARBA HAS TOLD US THAT OAU
MEDIATION EFFORTS CURRENTLY ARE AT A CRITICAL STAGE.

ETHIOPIA WAS TO HAVE SENT A DELEGATION TO LAGOS TO DISCUSS POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOMALIA AND NIGERIANS HOPED SOMALIA WOULD FOLLOW SUIT. WE WOULD NOT WANT TO INTERFERE WITH THIS EFFORT SHOULD IT INDEED APPEAR TO BE GETTING SOMEWHERE AT LAST. HOWEVER, THERE IS GOOD CHANCE ETHIOPIA WILL NOT COME TO LAGOS MEETING AND THUS OAU INITIATIVE WILL CONTINUE TO GET NOWHERE. WE CONTINUE TO HOPE TO PERSUADE THE AFRICANS TO TAKE THE LEAD, ALTHOUGH IN ANY EVENT WE WILL WANT TO PURSUE OUR EFFORT TO HAVE THE COUNCIL SEIZED WITH THE HORN ISSUE.

3. WE BELIEVE TIME FOR SC TO ACT HAS COME BECAUSE:

-SOMALIS, BY AT LAST ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THEIR TROOPS ARE IN THE OGADEN, HAVE OPENED THE WAY FOR A CALL TO THEM TO LEAVE; AT SAME TIME, THE ETHIOPIANS SHOULD SEE SOME INTEREST IN GETTING THE SOMALIS OUT DIPLOMATICALLY AS OPPOSED TO DRIVING THEM OUT MILITARILY.

-THE SITUATION IN THE HORN--MARKED BY A MASSIVE SOVIET
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AND CUBAN BUILD-UP IN ETHIOPIA, AND THE POTENTIAL PARTICIPATION ON SOMALIA'S SIDE BY A NUMBER OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS--HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY DANGEROUS TO PEACE AND SECURITY.

-PROBLEM HAS IMPLICATIONS GOING BEYOND THE REGION, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD CONTINUE STRONGLY TO ENCOURAGE REGIONAL ACTION TO DEAL WITH THE MATTER.

-THE SITUATION IN THE HORN IF CONTINUED COULD AFFECT THE POTENTIAL CLIMATE FOR OTHER INITIATIVES OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE, INCLUDING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, CONVENTIONAL ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS.

4. IN DECIDING TO PURSUE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION, WE SEEK DISCUSSION AND NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO POLITICAL SOLUTION. WE WILL WANT TO AVOID ASSIGNING BLAME TO ANY PARTY OR TO ANY OUTSIDE POWER, INCLUDING THE MAIN CONTESTANTS OR THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA. OUR PURPOSE IS A SETTLEMENT NOT A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE.

5. RESOLUTION WHICH WE COULD SUPPORT AND BELIEVE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO OAU INITIATIVE WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE APPLICABILITY OF GOVERNING PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER AND CONTAIN FOLLOWING ELEMENTS AS WELL:

BEGIN QUOTE: PREAMBULAR ELEMENTS:

1. CONCERN AT PRESENT CONFLICT IN OGADEN REGION.

2. REFERENCE TO PRINCIPLES OF UN CHARTER AND OBLIGATIONS OF STATES TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THOSE PRINCIPLES.

3. REFERENCE TO RESPONSIBILITY OF SECURITY COUNCIL FOR MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

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4. REFERENCE TO ARTICLE 33 OF UN CHARTER AND DESIRABILITY OF PURSUING EFFORTS THROUGH REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

5. REFERENCE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MEDIATION COMMISSION BY THE OAU, AS RELEVANT REGIONAL ORGANIZATION.

OPERATIVE ELEMENTS:

1. RESOLUTION OF THE PRESENT DISPUTE BY PEACEFUL MEANS IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN CHARTER.

2. APPLICATION OF THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES IN BRINGING ABOUT SUCH A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION:

(A) RESPECT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA;

(B) IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF ALL HOSTILITIES IN THE OGADEN AND IMMEDIATE AND RAPID WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT;

(C) RESPECT FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE AREA, INCLUDING ASSURANCES AGAINST REPRISALS ARISING FROM THE CONFLICT;

(D) AVOIDANCE BY ALL STATES OF ANY ACT WHICH COULD LEAD TO CONTINUATION OF THE FIGHTING OR TO AN EXACERBATION OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY RIVALRIES IN THE AREA, OR WHICH MIGHT ENDANGER NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT;

(E) ENTRY BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA INTO
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IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OAU MEDIATION COMMISSION WITH A VIEW TO SEEKING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE.

3. REQUEST TO SECRETARY GENERAL TO APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO COOPERATE WITH THE OAU MEDIATION COMMITTEE IN ITS EFFORTS. IN THIS REGARD, SUGGEST POSSIBILITY OF MACHINERY (E.G. ESTABLISHMENT OF OBSER-

VATION TEAMS) TO MONITOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES FROM THE OGADEN AND TO REPORT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE

REGION OF FIGHTING.

4. REQUEST TO SECRETARY GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL BY MARCH --, 1978, ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION AND IN FURTHER STEPS THAT COULD LEAD TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THIS DISPUTE. END QUOTE.

6. FOR USUN: YOU SHOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS WITH WESTERN FIVE TO PAVE THE WAY FOR INSCRIPTION OF THE HORN ISSUE AT THE BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK. DISCUSSIONS SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR BRINGING ISSUE BEFORE COUNCIL NEXT WEEK, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT IF AFRICANS CANNOT AGREE ON SUCH A MOVE THEMSELVES WESTERN MEMBERS WOULD CONTINUE THEIR EFFORT. IN SEEKING INSCRIPTION BY AFRICANS, YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE OUR DESIRE TO HAVE COUNCIL MEETINGS ACCOMPANIED BY INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE COUNCIL MEMBERS IN HOPES OF AGREEING ON OUTLINES OF A RESOLUTION. WHILE HEATED EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE PARTIES WOULD BE INEVITABLE, WE BELIEVE THAT CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS BEHIND THE SCENES ARE POSSIBLE. YOU SHOULD BRIEF EGYPTIAN PERMREP MEGUID ON OUR PLANS AND SEEK SUPPORT OF OTHER COUNCIL MEMBERS SUCH AS INDIA, VENEZUELA, BOLIVIA AND KUWAIT FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION.

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7. FOR CAIRO: DRAWING ON REFTELS A, C AND D WHICH ARE BEING PASSED TO YOU SEPARATELY AND ABOVE MATERIAL, YOU SHOULD BRIEF FOREIGN MINISTRY ON OUR PLANS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION. YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT OUR GOAL IS NOT A BLAME-FIXING EXERCISE BUT RATHER A CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT TO ARRIVE AT A CONSENSUS ON THE FRAMEWORK FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. YOU SHOULD ALSO STRESS IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO HAVING UNSC RESOLUTION SUPPORT OAU MEDIATION EFFORTS RATHER THAN DETRACT FROM THEM. THUS, WE DO NOT REPEAT NOT BELIEVE THAT EGYPT SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN CALLING FOR A MEETING, BUT WE WOULD APPRECIATE THEIR BEHIND-THE-SCENES SUPPORT WITH OTHER AFRICAN AND ARAB GOVERNMENTS. WE ARE CONFIDENT EGYPT WILL RECOGNIZE NEED TO NOT LET SLIP ANY OPPORTUNITY AT NYGOTMATET RESOLUTIONTOTENTION IN THAT CONNECTION, YOU MIGHT DRAW SPECIAL ATTENTION TO OPERATIVE PARAS 2B AND C OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION AND ASK FOR EGYPT'S ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE IN PRESSING FOR THEM.

8. FOR LAGOS: YOU SHOULD INFORM GARBA THAT WE APPRECIATE HIS ADVICE ON THE TIMING OF THE COUNCIL MEETING

AND DO NOT WISH TO INTERFERE WITH HIS EFFORTS TO BRING SOMALIS AND ETHIOPIANS TOGETHER IN LAGOS TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, HE SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE GRAVITY WITH WHICH WE MUST VIEW A CONFLICT SUCH AS THIS--ONE IN WHICH SOME NON-AFRICAN POWERS HAVE ALREADY INTERVENED MILITARILY AND OTHERS THREATEN TO JOIN THEM. WE NOTE THAT HE TOO BELIEVES THAT IF THIS EFFORT FAILS, OTHER PLANS SHOULD BE TRIED. IF GARBA CONFIRMS THAT ETHIOPIA WILL NOT COME TO LAGOS, HE SHOULD BE ASKED TO RECONSIDER HIS POSITION ON TAKING THE ISSUE BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT HE AND HIS
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AFRICAN COLLEAGUES WILL TAKE THE LEAD IN THE COUNCIL AND DO SO PROMPTLY OR AT LEAST SUPPORT A WESTERN MOVE TO SEIZE THE COUNCIL OF THE MATTER. WE BELIEVE APPROPRIATELY DRAFTED UNSC RESOLUTION, PROPERLY HANDLED IN DEBATE, COULD BE NON-CONTENTIOUS IN NATURE AND WOULD HAVE MAIN EFFECT OF PUTTING WEIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BEHIND NIGERIA IN ITS EFFORTS TO GET SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. WE THEREFORE URGE GARBA'S SUPPORT FOR THIS EFFORT.

9. FOR LIBREVILLE: YOU SHOULD COMPARE NOTES WITH YOUR FRENCH COLLEAGUE WHO WE HOPE WILL BE RECEIVING INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS TO MAKE A DEMARCHE ALONG THE ABOVE LINES. YOU SHOULD OFFER TO SUPPORT ANY APPROACH HE MAKES ALONG THE LINES OF ABOVE PARAGRAPH.

10. FOR CARACAS, LA PAZ, KUWAIT, NEW DELHI: YOU SHOULD BRIEF FOREIGN MINISTRY ALONG THE LINES OF THE ABOVE MATERIAL AND REFTELS, POINTING OUT THAT WE WILL BE IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THEIR MISSIONS IN NEW YORK. UNTIL CONSULTATIONS ARE COMPLETED WE ARE NOT REQUESTING THAT THEY INSTRUCT THEIR DELEGATIONS TO SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS. RATHER, WE WANT TO MAKE THEM AWARE OF OUR THINKING AND SOLICIT THEIR ADVICE SO THAT WE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO ACT COOPERATIVELY.

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Draft Date: 17 feb 1978
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